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## U.N. Accused of Double Standard

THE GROWING tendency in the United Nations of applying a double standard for judging the actions of Member-States was referred to by Foreign Minister Eric H. Louw in his opening statement at the meeting of the Special Political Committee of the United Nations when it discussed South Africa's racial policy.

There is one standard for the great and strong nations, and another for the smaller and weaker ones—one standard for large groups of nations, for example the Afro-Asian bloc, and another standard for a country like South Africa which is not a member of a particular bloc or group, Mr. Louw said.

"If the United Nations is to play its part in world affairs," Mr. Louw told the Special Political Committee, "then it certainly cannot afford a 'double standard' policy. It cannot continue to regard the actions of one Member-State as constitutional and in conformity with the Charter, whilst condemning similar action by another State as being unconstitutional and contrary to the Charter, or even, as it is sometimes put, as being 'contrary to the spirit of the Charter'."

Mr. Louw mentioned a number of instances in support of his contention.

### SOVIET RUSSIA

Referring to "completely and blatantly false" charges by the Soviet representative against South Africa, Mr. Louw said that "it is ironic, and also a sad reflection on present-day international ethics and morality, that charges of this nature should come from a Member-State of this Organization, whose own record can best be described in the words of Mr. Gromyko's baseless charges against South Africa!

"Soviet Russia has gained for itself the unenviable reputation throughout the civilized world as the perpetrator of acts of repression and terrorization, not only within its own borders,



Mr. Eric H. Louw, shown addressing the Special Political Committee of the U.N., has led South Africa's delegation to seven assemblies of the United Nations and is probably the only statesman at the U.N. who also represented his country at the League of Nations' assemblies in 1929, 1934 and 1935.

(Continued on page 4)



## Personal

### LOUW-RUSK TALKS

MR. ERIC H. LOUW, the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, visited Washington, D.C., during October for official talks with the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk. Mr. Louw said that the talks were conducted in a friendly spirit and that he considered them to have been very useful. There is a probability of the talks being continued before Mr. Louw leaves for South Africa.

### EX-AMBASSADOR GETS APPOINTMENT

MR. W. C. du PLESSIS, Director of the African Affairs Institute, and former High Commissioner in Canada and South African Ambassador in Washington, has been appointed by the Government as the permanent Secretary of the newly created Department of Information. This Department will fully coordinate and develop all the information services at home and abroad.

### SMITH-MUNDT GRANTEES

Four South Africans are visiting the United States on Smith-Mundt grants under the sponsorship of the Department of State. They are:

PROF. RONALD B. BALLINGER, Senior Lecturer in History at the University of the Witwatersrand, who is Visiting Professor at the University of Rhode Island during the 1961 Fall Semester, and, during the Spring Semester of 1962, he will be Visiting Lecturer at Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa.

DR. FREDERICK M. ENGELBRECHT, Senior Lecturer in Physiology at the University of Stellenbosch, to the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C., July to September, 1961, and to the Huntington Library, Pasadena, California, during October 1961, to January, 1962.

DR. AREND JOHANNES C. KOOLE, Senior Lecturer in Music and Musicology at the University of the Orange Free State, Bloemfontein, as Guest Professor of Music at the University of Texas, September, 1961, to June, 1962.

DR. ARTHUR D. LAZARUS, Principal of Sastri College, Durban, is a visiting Scholar at the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, September, 1961, to January 1962; his program for the period February to June, 1962, is still to be arranged.

### FORUM CANDIDATE

JOHANNES van der HORST of Clocolan, Orange Free State, has been chosen as South Africa's candidate for the 1962 New York Herald Tribune Forum.

## Two New Ministers

TWO English-speaking members have been appointed to his cabinet by the Prime Minister, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd. They are: Mr. A. E. Trollip, who will become Minister of Immigration and of Labour; and Mr. F. W. Waring, who will administer the newly created Department of Information.

### MINISTER OF IMMIGRATION AND OF LABOUR

ALFRED E. TROLLIP, 66, has been in public life for 26 years, 20 of them as a Member of Parliament. A descendant of the 1820 settlers, he was born in Johannesburg on July 16, 1895, and educated at Jeppe High School and the Witwatersrand University.



Mr. Trollip

At the age of 20 he became an attorney in Brakpan. He first entered public life in 1925 when he was elected to the Transvaal Provincial Council. In 1928 he won the Brakpan parliamentary constituency for General Smuts' South African Party (a precursor of the present United Party).

In 1943 he became Deputy Speaker and Chairman of Committees.

In the 1948 election he held Brakpan for the United Party by only two votes. In 1953 he became United Party member for Bezuidenhout (Johannesburg), until 1958 when he was appointed as Administrator of Natal. Mr. Trollip served with the Second Mounted Brigade in East Africa in the First World War.

Mr. Trollip will be the second member of the Senate who holds Cabinet rank; the other Senator in the Cabinet is Mr. Jan de Klerk.

### MINISTER OF INFORMATION

FRANK WALTER WARING, 52, is a famous former Springbok rugby center. Born in Kenilworth, Cape Town, on November 7, 1908, he was educated at the South African College School and the University of Cape Town where he obtained B.A. and B. Comm. degrees.

In 1934 he married Miss Joyce Barlow, daughter of Mr. Arthur Barlow, one of South Africa's most outspoken and colorful politicians.

A grain broker by profession, Mr. Waring has a wide knowledge of agricultural marketing. He was a United Party and Conservative Party Member of Parliament for Orange Grove (Johannesburg) for many years.

Earlier this year, he was a member of the official trade mission to Australasia and the Far East. Mr. Waring was an independent candidate in the Maitland constituency in the recent General Election, where he received 3703 votes to 4610 for the United Party and 1688 for the Progressive Party.

He toured Great Britain with the rugby Springboks side of 1931-32; and played in all the tests against the Australian Wallabies in South Africa in 1933.

# FRIENDSHIP THROUGH AID

SOUTH AFRICA, as the most highly developed country in Africa, wishes to offer the emerging countries in Africa help and cooperation, said the Prime Minister, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd.

In return South Africa hopes to receive friendship and goodwill—the most important thing in international relations.

The real desire of South Africa to cooperate with other African states in matters of common concern and to give advice and practical assistance where necessary, was reiterated by Foreign Minister Eric H. Louw in his recent address to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

## FUTURE ROLE

In posing the question of the role South Africa should play in the spheres of technical and scientific cooperation in future, Dr. S. M. Naudé, President of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, expressed the view that a greater responsibility may rest on the shoulders of South Africa to give guidance in these fields where possible.

South Africa can render valuable services in such spheres as housing, water supply, medical services, animal diseases and agriculture.

"Its financial contribution towards the budget of the Commission for Technical Cooperation in Africa South of the Sahara and the Council for Science in Africa South of the Sahara is approximately 16 per cent of the total, while most of the new members contribute only one per cent or less," Dr. Naudé said. He added that South Africa is a contributing country while most of the new States, who reap the greatest benefits, are the receiving countries.

He said that South Africa should not and does not want to play the part of a leader of the emerging nations of Africa. Those nations, however much they might be lagging today, wish—as South Africa had wished—to be independent and stand on their own. They do not want any other country, however strong, to be their "leader."

The greatest help that South Africa could give is in sharing its "know-how" in tackling practical problems. This "know-how" might not be as great as that of some countries outside Africa, but is superior to theirs insofar as it is developed in the peculiar circumstances of Africa and takes them into account.

Mr. P. O. Sauer, Minister of Lands, recently pointed out that South Africa's willingness to cooperate with African states applies, in the case of his Department, especially to the cartographic needs of the continent.

No country of comparable size outside Europe has such a dense network of trigonometrical stations, he said. In 1930 the University of Cape Town was the first outside Europe to establish a degree course in surveying, and three other universities have since followed. The University of Natal also offers a course in photogrammetry, and only in the last ten years have similar courses been established at universities elsewhere.



*Two scientists peer into the cyclotron of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research in Pretoria.*

## Full Cabinet

MORE than thirteen years after coming to power, the nationalist Government has reverted to the tradition of its predecessors in that the Cabinet will now consist of members drawn from both language groups. With the appointment of Mr. A. E. Trollip as Minister of Immigration and of Labour and Mr. F. W. Waring as Minister of Information, the Cabinet now has its full complement of 18 Ministers. The Cabinet has never had its full complement of six Deputy Ministers; there are four at the moment.

Senator Theo Gerdener, a former member of the Natal Provincial Council, will succeed Mr. Trollip as Administrator of Natal, and he will be succeeded as Senator by Mr. Trollip.

Mr. Waring has been nominated to stand in the Vasco (Cape Province) constituency which became vacant with the recent appointment of its Member of Parliament to the Railways Board.

In his statement the Prime Minister said that when certain changes were made in the Cabinet before the General Election, he stated that he would keep two vacancies available for the appointment of English-speaking members if the election results justified such a step.

As the Government has been returned to power with increased majorities throughout the country with the support of both Afrikaans and English-speaking electors, he has no hesitation in doing what he had in mind for some time.

The Prime Minister also made it clear in a speech afterwards that these appointments had not been made to appease anybody, but in the belief that South Africa had entered a new era in which both the language groups were growing together and that the old dividing lines had been broken down.

Minister Jan de Klerk, relieved of his duties as Minister of Immigration and of Labour, remains as Minister of Interior and also becomes Minister of Education, Arts and Science, previously administered temporarily by Mr. B. J. Vorster, the Minister of Justice.



## Republic Will Stay in U.N.

COMMENTING on the events in the U.N. General Assembly which led to the adoption of a "motion of censure" of the statements made by South Africa's Foreign Minister, the Prime Minister, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd said that South Africa would not leave the United Nations but would hold on to membership in the world organization with all the tenacity of a small power insisting on the right of free speech.

"This South African Government will not allow this incident to affect its sincere adherence to the essence of the Charter of the United Nations which is the maintenance of international peace and security, and the development of friendly relations between members.

"It will not leave the United Nations now, in spite of extreme provocation, but still hopes that its stand on the basic principles on non-interference in the domestic affairs of member nations will prove successful and lead to the right emphasis on the search for points of agreement, rather than overstressing points of difference. Only then can this world organization be saved from the failure and self-destruction which now threatens it from within."

The Prime Minister said that there is an increasing tendency towards acrimony and disharmony in the United Nations. The South African Government could only deplore the further departure from the Charter and the manifestation of double standards within the United Nations, as well as the denial of the rights of member states to express their views.

The Prime Minister said early last month that certain countries were not well-disposed to South Africa because they regarded South Africa as a symbol of obstruction to their cause. In the ideological struggle between East and West both sides thought they could gain friendship by attacking South Africa.

### MISCONCEPTIONS

In the rise of black nationalism in Africa two misconceptions about South Africa had arisen, the Prime Minister said. The first was that the South African whites had taken the black man's territory from him; the fact was that the white man had settled in what was virtually unpopulated land.

Secondly, the black states lost sight of the fact that South Africa, through her policy of separate development, wishes to do exactly what they would like to see granted to the black peoples of Africa: through separate development the whites wish to lead the blacks to independence in their own territories.

The attacks launched against South Africa overseas and especially at the United Nations were not new, he said. In 1948 General J. C. Smuts, the then Prime Minister, had encountered it and described it as "a stonewall of prejudice."

South Africa had refrained from interfering in the domestic affairs of those countries which had attacked her. But the position had become so bad, Dr. Verwoerd said, that some of those nations ought to be reminded of what was happening in their own countries. South Africa's bitterest critics were often the countries where the worst conditions exist.

## Double Standard

(Continued from page 1)

but also of people beyond its frontiers. The tragic history of Hungary is still fresh in the minds of those who listened to the debates in the Assembly in 1956."

Although the Hungarian question was debated in the Assembly, and a Commission of Enquiry appointed, of which nothing came, Mr. Louw asked whether the United Nations has at any time suggested taking action in the matter.

### NO ACTION

Nothing was done because of Russia's great military power, "but on the basis of false information and spurious charges, this Committee last year recommended . . . that action be taken against South Africa — a small country!"

Mr. Louw also pointed to the "chorus of condemnation" which followed the erection by the Soviet Government of a concrete wall around East Berlin and the tightening of the "steel ring" around East Germany. "Beyond this verbal barrage, was anything done about it? More important is the question, is the United Nations going to do anything about it?" he asked.

### NON-INTERVENTION IN CUBA

Another outstanding case of the application of the "double standard" occurred as recently as the 15th Session last year, Mr. Louw said. A resolution was adopted in connection with the Cuban question with the following preambular paragraph: The General Assembly firmly believes . . . "that the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of any State imposes an obligation on members of the United Nations to refrain from encouraging or promoting civil strife in other States."

In the case of Cuba, the principles enshrined in Article 2(7) are observed. In the case of South Africa these principles are callously ignored.

"Why?" asked Mr. Louw. "Will those delegations that voted for this paragraph in the resolution on the Cuban situation, be prepared to explain in this Committee why they adhere to the principle of non-intervention in domestic affairs only when it suits their political or economic interests?"

### INTERVENTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

"The decision of the General Assembly to censure the statement which I made in the General debate, the bulk of which was an exposition of South Africa's policy of separate development . . . is the latest instance of the application of the double standard in connection with South Africa's domestic affairs," Mr. Louw said.

Earlier in his statement the Minister had made it clear that he was not attending the meeting of the Special Political Committee for the purpose of defending South Africa's policy, which South Africa continues to regard as a domestic matter and thus not the concern of the United Nations, nor of its Committee.



*General Jan Christiaan Smuts, South African Prime Minister at the time, signed the Charter of the United Nations at San Francisco on June 26, 1945. General Smuts drafted the preamble to the Charter.*

## U.N. Jeopardized Freedom of Speech

ON OCTOBER 11th, Foreign Minister Eric H. Louw delivered his main policy statement before the United Nations 16th General Assembly. The sustained campaign which had been carried on against South Africa in the general debate during the previous two weeks came to a head after Mr. Louw's statement had been made.

The Liberian delegation moved that the statement be expunged from the records of the United Nations on the grounds that it was offensive to all the African States.

In reply, Mr. Louw warned that such a proposal, if adopted, would be a serious blow to the free expression of opinion which was a basic principle governing discussion at the United Nations; furthermore, that a dangerous precedent would be created for the future. (The leader of the Australian delegation was the only other warning voice against the proposal.)

The Foreign Minister then asked in what respect his speech could be regarded as offensive to all the African States, since his critical remarks had been directed only at the abridgement of democratic principles by one man—President Nkrumah of Ghana. Other African States had been cited only in pointing up what is being done for the South African Bantu in the fields of housing, social services and education in comparison with the populations of certain other African countries.

Except for the introductory part of his statement dealing with the United Nations itself and with U.N. action in Katanga, the Minister's statement was devoted to setting out South Africa's policy of separate development.

"Let them read that speech of mine," said Mr. Louw. "If those with an open mind read it, I am quite sure that if they want to be honest they will have to agree that my statement was a fair statement, an objective statement."

After Mr. Louw's reply, Liberia withdrew its proposal and substituted another motion to censure South Africa's racial policy. South Africa objected to this on a point of order, but the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Mongi Slim of Tunisia, announced that the motion would be put to a vote.

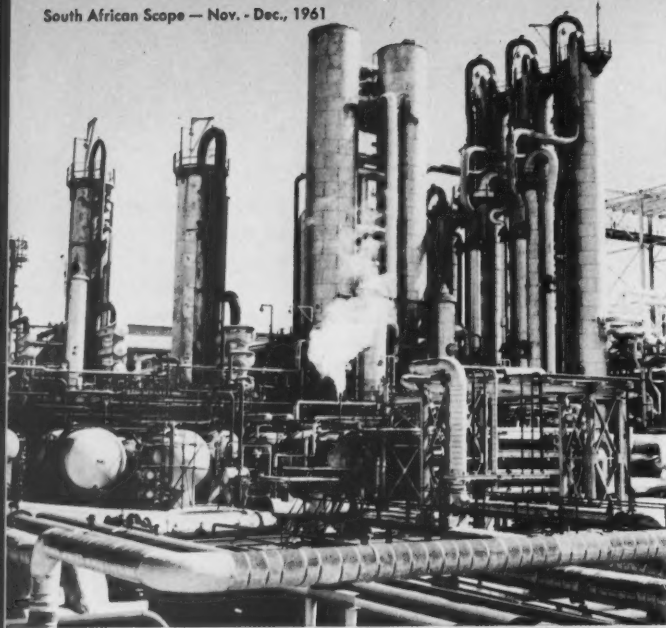
At this point, one of the Asian delegates asked what exactly was the question on which delegates were being asked to vote. The President referred the question to the Liberian delegate who replied that the motion of censure was in regard to Mr. Louw's statement, which was "offensive, fictitious and erroneous."

South Africa, anxious to know what attitude the Western nations would take on such an unprecedented motion, called for a roll-call vote.

The motion was adopted by 67 votes to one, with only South Africa voting against it. Twenty nations formally abstained and nine others did not participate. The motion was supported by all the African delegations present, and by many of the Central and South American nations. Some of the Asian delegations had reservations about the motion and abstained.

Not a single one of the Western nations was prepared to support South Africa from the rostrum on the principle of free speech or to vote against the motion of censure. They all (with the exception of the Netherlands, which voted with the Africans) either formally abstained or chose not to participate.

Reaction among the American newspapers was definite and immediate. Over 80 papers from Maine to California printed editorials regretting the motion of censure as contravening the principle of free speech in the United Nations. The New York Herald Tribune commented: "Those Africans who led the General Assembly in its vindictive censure of South Africa took another step toward wrecking the United Nations from within. The real loser was not South Africa, but the U.N. Any restriction on free speech undermines the integrity of the Assembly itself. And, there as elsewhere, the freedom of all can be preserved only if the freedom of each is defended."



*South Africa's oil-from-coal plant (Sasol), the biggest project of its kind in the world, produces one-seventh of the country's present gasoline needs and also most of the world's hard paraffin wax.*

## Growth: Some Facts

IN A SPEECH recently, the Minister of Economic Affairs, Dr. N. Diederichs, mentioned that in fifteen years, from 1946 to 1960:

- The geographical income of South Africa more than trebled — from R1,407,000,000 (\$1,969,800,000) to R4,477,000,000 (\$6,267,800,000)—while the real income per head of population improved by 35 per cent.
- Gross industrial production increased from R608,000,000 (\$851,200,000) to R2,775,000,000 (\$3,885,000,000)—more than 4 times.
- Gold production increased from 11,900,000 ounces to 21,400,000 ounces per year.
- The total mineral production increased from R257,000,000 (\$359,800,000) to R857,000,000 (\$1,199,800,000).
- Iron and steel production increased from 617,000 tons to 2,200,000 tons.
- Electrical power generated increased from 8,557,000,000 kwh to 23,259,000,000 kwh.
- Exports of goods increased from between R140-150 million to about R850,000,000 (\$1,190,000,000).
- Gross capital formation increased from R406,000,000 (\$568,400,000) to R1,150,000,000 (\$1,610,000,000).

Furthermore, South Africa:

- produces 48 per cent of the world's platinum;
- has practically unlimited resources of coal;
- is the second largest producer of asbestos in the world;
- is the third largest producer of chromium, manganese and uranium;
- is the largest producer of antimony.

## Gold, Industry, Trade

SOUTH AFRICA'S gold mining industry celebrated its 75th anniversary by coming up with its August production figures being the highest in its history. The total output was 1,967,016 ounces valued at R49,234,410 (nearly \$60 million).

On this basis it is certain that in the very near future the two-million-ounce-a-month mark will be passed. This reflects the great contributions of the younger mines, for it was as short a time ago as 1953 that one million ounces were produced for the first time, states the South African Mining and Engineering Journal in a recent article.

The history of the industry is a checkered one. There have been times when it seemed that its life was limited. Even within a few years of the start of operations, its prospects were viewed with gloom, but the introduction of the cyanide process changed the whole picture.

Another milestone was the world economic crisis of the 1930's. In this case the abandonment of the Gold Standard provided the impetus largely responsible for the opening up of the Far East Rand and the West Witwatersrand line.

Then came the discovery of the Vaal and Basal Reefs in the Klerksdorp (Western Transvaal) area and the Orange Free State, and latterly the Kimberley Reef deposits of the Kinross district in the Eastern Transvaal.

Approximately 640,000,000 ounces of gold with a total value of \$13,580,000,000 have been recovered during the past 75 years.

### VALUE TO INDUSTRY

In the ten years from 1950 to 1960 South African gold mines more than doubled the value of the stores they used and increased the proportion they bought from South African industry from 66 per cent to 91 per cent, according to figures published by the Chamber of Mines in its annual report.

In 1950 when the gold output was 11.7 million ounces, South African mines used stores valued at R113,000,000 (\$158,200,000) of which 66 per cent was manufactured in South Africa. Last year the output was 21.4 million ounces, the value of stores R262,000,000 (\$366,800,000) and 91 per cent was locally manufactured.

The total gold output up to September 1961 was 17,065,213 ounces and it is expected that last year's record will be easily surpassed.

The present gold price, however, provides too narrow a basis for a pyramidal super-structure of world trade, said Dr. T. E. Dönges, Minister of Finance, recently on his return from the International Monetary Fund and World Bank meetings.

Economic experts of various European countries are realizing more and more the necessity to obtain greater liquidity through an upward revision of the gold price, he said.

While world trade has increased by 5 to 6 per cent per annum in recent years, increased gold production and gold sales by the Soviet Union have brought about an increase of only one per cent in the world's gold reserves.



# South Africa Good for Investment

RESPONSIBLE authorities overseas still regard South Africa as an attractive field for investment, provided there is a change in emphasis in the country's politics—not necessarily a violent change in direction, says Dr. J. E. Holloway in a recent article in OPTIMA, a quarterly review published by the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa.

Dr. Holloway, who recently headed a South African trade mission to Europe, has also held the posts of Secretary of Finance, Ambassador at Washington and of High Commissioner in London.

The South African exchange restrictions earlier this year which placed certain obstacles in the way of withdrawing foreign capital were in no way an act of bankruptcy, but rather a delaying tactic applied at a time when there was a run on the bank.

## HONORING COMMITMENTS

South Africa's record for honoring her capital commitments to foreigners is certainly impressive.

"No foreigner has ever lost one single penny in respect of loans issued abroad by a South African governmental authority, central or local. All repayments of capital and all interest payments were always made on due date.

"When other countries took advantage of the war debts moratorium in the middle thirties, South Africa paid up its accruing commitment to Britain on the grounds that a moratorium should not be availed of by a debtor who is able to pay.

"The country settled the whole of its Lend-Lease debt in cash, the only country in the world which has done so. The term 'nationalization of foreign assets' has never come within the orbit of its thinking.

"During the whole of the troubled post-war period, it was among the few countries whose borders were not closed to the egress of foreign capital. Dividends earned by foreign investors, normally the first quarry of foreign capital blockage, have been, and continue to be, transferred freely.

"This is indeed a remarkable record for a small debtor country in an age of which the characteristic feature is that unsoundness of money is no reproach to financial authorities," writes Dr. Holloway.

It would be a serious error, he warns, to assume that it is enough, in the matter of capital restriction, to conform to a pattern which has been set by other countries. As the full freedom of capital movement is a sign of economic health and vigor, the Government should with the least possible delay endeavor to return to the pattern which was so successfully followed until recently. (That such a step is the Government's intention has already been announced by official spokesmen.)

Dr. Holloway points out that by maintaining an open door policy for foreign capital and conceding full national treatment to foreign capital and enterprise, South Africa has attracted a disproportionate share of the available capital in the post-war period during which it was notoriously scarce.



*The generation of electric power in South Africa is double that of the rest of Africa combined—more than 23 billion kwh.*

"It has been estimated that the total foreign capital investment in the Republic is of the magnitude of £1,500,000,000 (\$4,200,000,000), about three-fifths hailing from the United Kingdom. It has also been estimated that the country's own annual savings amount to between £400,000,000 (\$1,120,000,000) and £500,000,000 (\$1,400,000,000) a year, and that this figure represents about 90 per cent of the country's requirements for new investment."

Examining the psycho-political aspects, Dr. Holloway refers to the attacks upon South Africa from those who would like to see her align her race policies to those of the Afro-Asian bloc.

"The reasoning behind this has little to do with the practicability of carrying out these policies in the unique racial situation that obtains in the Republic. It is based on a desire to build up what is hoped to be a counter-weight against communism, and blindly assumes the practicability of multi-racial policies."

## GROWTH POTENTIAL

He observed, however, in Europe that there is less assurance that South African policies are wrong, that they must fail, that disaster looms ahead. Rather, he found a willingness to observe the constructive details and the obstacles that must be overcome if civilization is to advance and improvement of standards among the Bantu is to be achieved.

"There is a widespread appreciation of the importance of the South African market, of its growth potential and of the opportunities which it offers to enterprising firms possessing the necessary technical status. There is full confidence among men of goodwill, whose knowledge of the country gives them a right to express a judgement, that it requires, not a violent change in direction, but a salient change in emphasis to bridge the gap between the country's undoubted and recognized opportunities and the amount of foreign capital which would speed its development," Dr. Holloway concluded.



## Election Results Favor Government



*Sir de Villiers Graaff, leader of the opposition United Party, is cheered by his supporters during the election campaign.*

THE NATIONAL PARTY was returned to power in the general election held on October 18th with its biggest majority in the House of Assembly where it now holds 105 seats—two short of a two-thirds majority.

Two of the main features of the election were a 10 per cent swing to the National Party and the surprisingly strong showing made by the Progressive Party, a group that split from the United Party last year and formed a new party.

The final state of the parties is: National Party 105, United Party 49, Progressive Party 1, and the National Union 1. At the dissolution of Parliament, the state of the parties was: National Party 102, United Party 42, Progressive 11, and National Union 1.

Although the United Party, led by Sir de Villiers Graaff, has increased its members in the House of Assembly from 42 to 49, this party now has fewer supporters, having lost them to the National Party and the Progressives. The Progressive Party, under the leadership of Dr. J. van A. Steytler, received strong support in the Witwatersrand (Transvaal) seats it contested, and in Natal constituencies it also enjoyed a fair proportion of support. This Party contested 23 seats but only one of its candidates, Mrs. Helen Suzman (Houghton, Johannesburg) was successful.

Seventy candidates were returned unopposed, 50 of them Nationalists and 20 United Party.

The Coloured voters of the Cape Province also elected their four representatives in the House of Assembly on October 4th.

In a post-election statement the Prime Minister, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, said that the ever-increasing majorities in election



*Left: We made it! As results became available, they were broadcast in an unbroken 30-hour transmission after polling day.*

*Right: The Prime Minister, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, chats with students in Cape Town.*



after election on a steadily broadening base of English and Afrikaans-speaking citizens follow many of the most major changes a country could experience in constitutional, economic, social and racial fields.

Dr. Verwoerd pointed out that very few countries in the modern world can pride themselves on such growing confidence in their governments over such a long period of time—thirteen and a half years. The reason is clear and fundamental. A nation has decided that its very existence depends upon a policy, not of discrimination, but of differentiation between racial groups in the population.

The solid core of realism in South Africa's racial groups will aid in preserving peace and order, the Prime Minister said.

"We shall continue to build the structure of the future with caution, but with a firm hand so that our nonwhite peoples will not be subjected to chaos or dictatorship. . . . The progress with differentiation during the next few years will be well-planned and carefully executed in cooperation with those who do not fail their own people," Dr. Verwoerd said.

#### TWO FACTS

Mr. Willem van Heerden, editor of "Dagbreek and Sondag-nuus" (Johannesburg), said in his weekly political review that the election figures disclose two important facts: (1) the National Party in the past few months has acquired a remarkable volume of English-speaking support, and (2) a large number of former United Party supporters, although they did not vote for the National Party, also withheld their support from the U.P. candidates. "One can come to no other conclusion than that a political regrouping is taking place and that a more realistic dividing line is being sought."



*Long lines of housewives and mothers proved the deciding factor; 919,971 women as against 864,849 men registered.*



*Two voters are directed to the private booths where they can mark their voting slips in secret.*

# Balanced Development

THE ECONOMIC structure of South Africa, with the Bantu territories as an integral part of it, should be regarded as one inclusive whole, and all planning and economic development should be undertaken within this concept, said Dr. N. Diederichs, Minister of Economic Affairs, recently. He added that a balanced development of all sectors of the economy in the various areas should be provided for.

The pattern of development which could be envisaged for the country is —

- Industries established by white enterprise and white capital with predominantly white labor for the white areas.
- Industries established by white enterprise and white capital but with predominantly nonwhite labor for the border areas (those areas bordering on the Bantu homelands).
- Industries established by nonwhite enterprise and with non-white capital, assisted by development organizations especially created for that purpose, with nonwhite labor in the nonwhite territories.

## ENORMOUS TASK

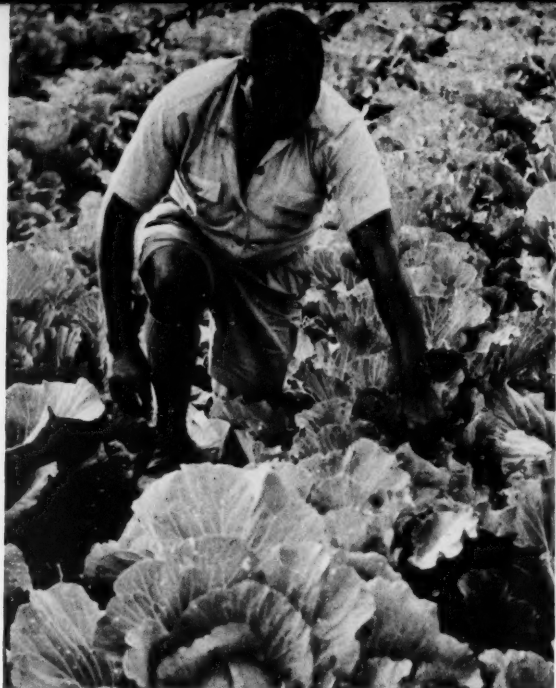
Dr. Diederichs said that, although progress in the Bantu territories has been slow, their development is an enormous task which would spread over generations.

"No spectacular progress can be made unless the need for increasing productivity is fully realized by everyone concerned. In the main this is not fully appreciated by the Bantu and even by their leaders," said the Minister.

The idea of group responsibility must be enlisted and the principle of development through self-activity must be brought home to the Bantu in their territories. Once this has been done, an opportunity will have been created for the Bantu themselves to play an increasing part in their own economic development.



Three wealthy directors of the Vendlan Trading Company examine and discuss some of their stock in one of their stores at Sibasa in the Northern Transvaal.



A plotholder weeds his excellent crop of cabbages grown under irrigation in the Letaba district of the Northern Transvaal.

# ROADS TO SELF-RULE

FURTHER milestones towards Bantu self-rule have been reached with the inauguration of the Ciskei and Tswana Territorial Authorities.

Three parliaments-in-the-making are now functioning for various Bantu ethnic groups, with similar institutions for the North Sotho, the Zulu, Venda and Tsonga nations to follow next year.

These self-governing institutions are based on the indigenous political organization of the Bantu but are adapted to modern needs. The Transkei Territorial Authority has jurisdiction over 2,000,000 people, the Ciskei Authority over 1,230,000 and the Tswana Authority over 1,000,000.

The settlement potential of the Bantu homelands is immeasurable and the Department of Bantu Administration and Development aims at actively guiding the Bantu to participate in the rehabilitation of their homelands, said Mr. L. A. Pepler, Director of Bantu Development, recently.

"But what comes will to a large extent depend on the Bantu themselves and the amount of initiative they show in developing their own territory," he said.

The direction taken by the Government is not one of merely developing the Bantu homelands but of developing the Bantu themselves as human beings. The Government intends to instill in the Bantu a sense of pride in permanent settlement conditions of occupation and established farming activity.

Under the various projects the Bantu in the homelands will not only be able to produce enough food to support themselves, but also they may eventually enter the export market if they increase their production by improved farming methods.

# Towards a Fuller Life

THE PATTERN which should be followed to achieve a happier and fuller life for the urban Bantu was recently outlined by Mr. W. A. Maree, Minister of Bantu Education.

Large numbers of Bantu are now living in urban communities as a result of the development brought by the white man with his capital and his knowledge. These Bantu came to live in conditions totally strange to their traditional way of life which meant a great deal of dislocation for them. Many found it difficult to adapt themselves to the new circumstances, the Minister said, and their lives are more artificial than is realized.

The confusion in the urban Bantu's mind was further aggravated when he finds himself up against strange, self-appointed political leaders in contrast to the close-knit political organism of the tribe. He is not asked to follow but is coerced with threats and pledged to strike, to throw stones and to commit violence.

They are a special group of people, the Minister said, who require specialized treatment. The Minister considered it the country's duty to help create those social conditions which would bring new anchors and new ties to them. Although this is also the aim of education, it could at best only be an aid and not the full answer.

"Spiritual cultivation can do valuable work," he continued, "but it will all be in vain if we cannot succeed in developing a communal spirit linked to tradition but adapted to present-day circumstances."

Mr. Maree said that the answer to this and to juvenile delinquency, crime and other signs of confusion lie in better housing, ethnic grouping, school committees and urban Bantu councils which would create a new civic awareness and responsibility. He also lauded the steps taken by private enterprise to increase the wage level of urban Bantu.

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United States: Information Service of South Africa, 655 Madison Avenue, New York 21, N. Y.

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Editor: J. H. du Plessis Asst. Editor: K. S. Jarratt

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*One dilemma of urban life.*

## Bantu Administrators

THREE qualified Bantu will soon be appointed as assistant-commissioners of Bantu Affairs in the Transkei, said Mr. C. B. Young, Secretary of Bantu Affairs and Development. In addition, Bantu prosecutors will be appointed in the courts and senior clerical and interpreter posts will be created.

These steps to increase the status of Bantu civil servants are in accordance with the Government's policy of developing the Bantu homelands towards self-rule.

The Bantu are progressively being trained and educated in a sound understanding of effective administration, unimpeachable application of the law, problems of soil conservation and agriculture, and the aims of education so that all white officers may be gradually and systematically replaced by qualified Bantu personnel.

## Industrial Opportunities

THE PROGRESS made thus far with the development of industries on the borders of the Bantu homelands has been quite satisfactory, said the Prime Minister, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, when he recently reviewed the activities of the Economic Advisory Council.

A report of the Council's Permanent Committee for the Location of Industries and Border Area Development, states that 106 enquiries and 54 applications were received in connection with the establishment of border industries.

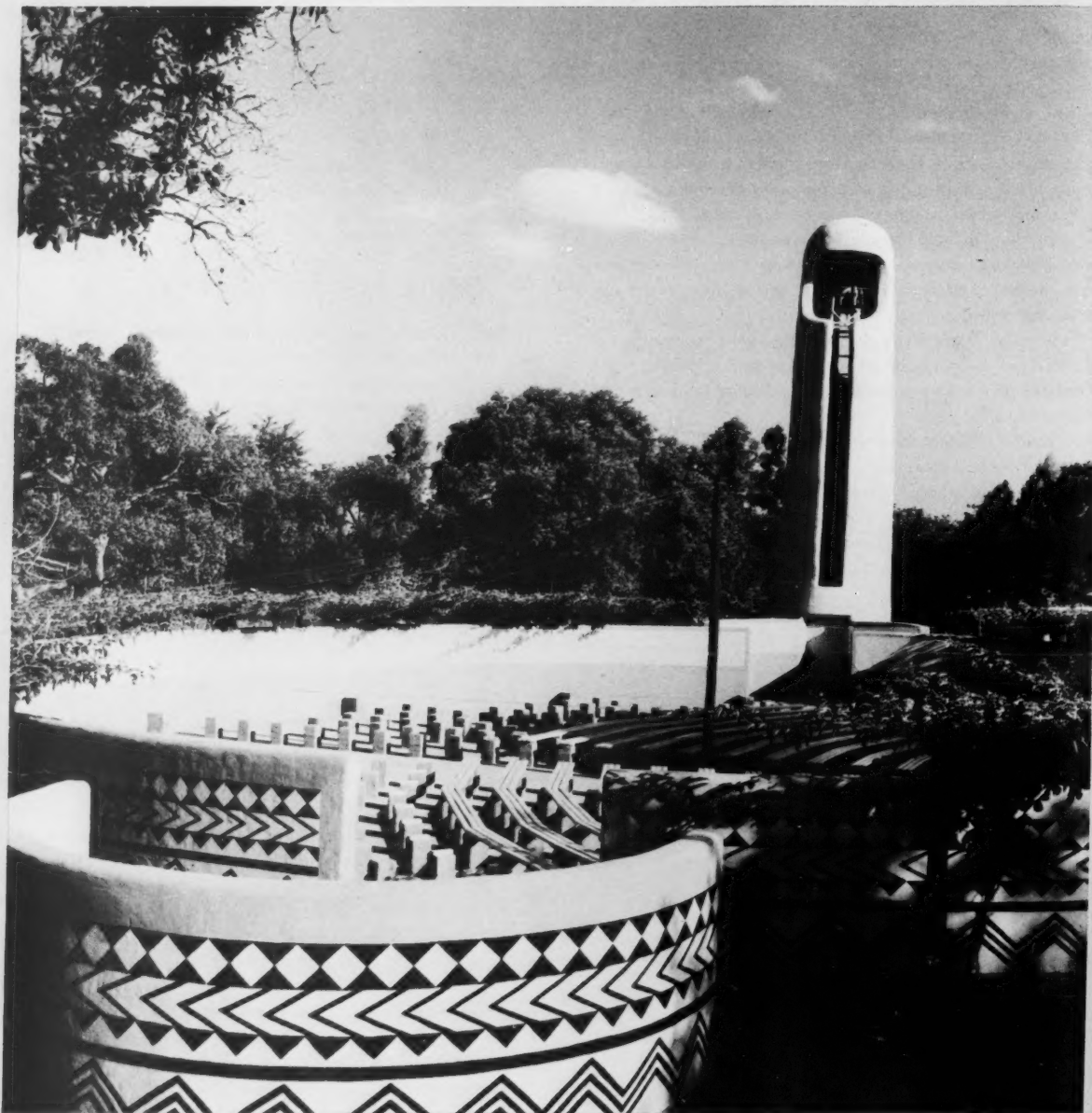
Assistance was granted to three enterprises—textile factories—with a total capital investment of R1,800,000 (\$2,520,000), which will provide work for 880 Bantu and 30 whites.

The potential investment in ten other industries which have been approved in principle and which are now being investigated by the Industrial Development Corporation, will amount to more than R3,000,000 (\$4,200,000) with an estimated labor force of 1,150 Bantu, 131 whites and 12 Coloureds.



## The Beckoning Hand

ONE DAY long ago, runs an old Bavenda legend, a wicked induna (Bantu headman) kidnapped a beautiful maiden and carried her off to his stronghold. The place was surrounded by high mountains, deep rivers and wild animals so that all who tried to rescue the maiden were thrown back in defeat. But finally a brave young warrior climbed the mountains, swam the waters, killed the guardian snakes, crocodiles and lions, and rescued the unfortunate girl. This legend, depicted in symbolic drawings on an ancient Venda beer gourd, has been transferred to a wall panel of the unique mission church situated near the town of Louis Trichardt in the Northern Transvaal.



*Venda tribesmen who are attracted to the mission church at Tshilindzini by the ringing bell can sit under its spire while listening to a sermon preached in their own language.*

## PHYSICAL AND SPIRITUAL

Here about four years ago, the Rev. Nico Smith and his wife, young Dutch Reformed missionaries, began their dream of ministering to the needs — both physical and spiritual — of the 200,000 members of the Venda tribe.

They began by building a tuberculosis hospital which they named Tshilindzini (In Grace). There, Mrs. Smith, who is a qualified physician attended to the health of the Venda with only the help of her husband, but a general hospital has now been built next to the tuberculosis hospital and a district surgeon has been appointed.

Once the bodily needs of their flock had been attended to, the Smiths instituted the building of a church. There are no doors and almost all the walls are rounded, in the building style of the Venda. The outer walls are adorned with symbolic drawings, showing the culture and legends of the Venda like the one described above.

The church itself, designed by a Cape Town architect to accord with other Venda structures, is divided into three sections: the main hall, the outer courtyard or "lapa" and the bell tower spire. Members of the church gather in the main hall while those who are not yet members sit in the lapa. The main part of the church is separated from the lapa by a baptismal font to symbolize to non-members that they must first be baptized before they can become part of the congregation. The pulpit is arranged so that the preacher can address both audiences at once.

The main hall is covered by a pretty thatched roof, erected by Venda thatchers. The inside walls are decorated with Christian symbols and Bible stories, executed by Miss Erna Jeannet, instructor in art at the Vendaland Educational Institute, not far from the mission station. Reverend Smith's pulpit vestment is made of plaited rushes traditional to the Venda, and woven Venda dishes and wooden vessels are used for Holy Communion. A Venda clay dish is inside the baptismal font.

## TRIBAL TRADITIONS

The lapa has been overstrung with wires to hold the creepers which, growing in sub-tropical profusion, will eventually form the roof. Where Venda symbols were not considered suitable for the church's exterior walls (many of them depict sex), they have been adapted.

The bell spire of the little church, the point of which is modelled to resemble a beckoning hand, towers high above the surrounding tree-tops and can be seen from far across the veld.

The elders of the tribe followed the building of the church with great interest. "That is so, that is right," they said in approval when the work was completed. "Our young people must respect their traditions."

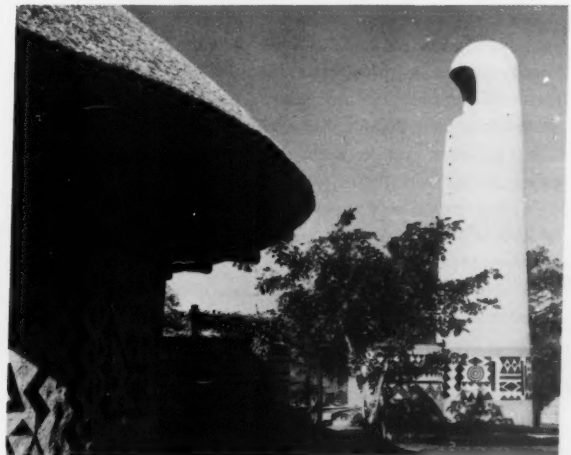
The setting of the little church has been left untouched. Typical flora of the lowveld rings its walls and partridges and other birds maintain a chorus of sound from daybreak to dusk. Troops of monkeys and baboons swing from the branches of the centuries-old baobab and marula trees, emitting merry chirping. On Sundays, these natural sounds mingle with the ringing of the church bell as the Venda emerge from the surrounding bush to attend services.



*An old legend, but a new meaning. Venda designs, taken from tribal vessels and gourds, adorn the exterior walls of the church.*



*The thatching over the roof of the main hall was done by the Venda themselves.*



*Both aural and visual in purpose, the bell spire sends out a ringing call and symbolizes a beckoning hand.*



*The main difference between this white or square-lipped rhinoceros and his more common and smaller (by a ton) cousin, the black rhino, is in size and habit, not actually in color.*

## RARA AVIS

THE FIRST pictures of the almost extinct South African lammergeyer (bearded vulture) were recently obtained by four Natal men, risking their lives in an assault on the rugged rock-face of the Basutoland mountains. They photographed it high on the face of a 600-foot precipice.

It is believed that there are no more than about 40 lammergeyers in Southern Africa.

The full-grown bird has a wing span of nine to ten feet. The head is white with a black band; the neck, throat and breast are orange; and the wings are a glossy grey-black streaked with white. The eyes are a conspicuous bright red, giving it an air of ferocity. A tuft of bristly feathers projects beardlike from beneath the beak.

Roberts' "Birds of South Africa" describes the lammergeyer as "a rare, vulture-like eagle that has almost disappeared with the advance of civilization; now mainly confined to the Drakensberg but sometimes wandering further afield. A magnificent bird in the air, gliding at great speeds along ridges in search of food." Its voice is a "high ringing whistle."

## Rhinos Take a Ride

FOUR white or square-lipped rhinos—two bulls and two cows—were recently moved by truck to their former habitat, the Kruger National Park in the Northeastern Transvaal from Natal's Umfolosi Reserve.

The success of this maneuver was entirely due to a revolutionary and humane immobilization drug perfected by Dr. Hartshorn of the East Africa University College, and the enterprise of the Natal Game and Fisheries Board and the National Parks Board.

The drug, loaded in a dart and shot from a specially designed gun, has a threefold action which immobilizes the animal, induces a state of amnesia and finally tranquilizes it. The amnesia stage causes the animal to "forget" that it is a rhino and it becomes quite tractable, allowing humans to touch it, handle it and even ride it.

At one stage during the trip, a bull caught a horn in the corner of the crate and, a little further, managed to fall on his back. As soon as possible he was righted again, done with great difficulty, as a rhino asphyxiates when lying on its back due to the weight of its body pressing on its lungs.

However, these minor mishaps had no ill effects on the animals at all and, when released in their new home, they immediately began grazing—a sure sign of tranquility. They are also reported not to be suffering from any after-effects of the drug.

It is now proved beyond all doubt that the application of this immobilization drug will greatly facilitate the movement of wild animals.

The white rhinos have almost become extinct and are today mainly found in the Umfolosi Reserve. After more than 60 years, the Kruger National Park has rhinos again and eight more of these 4,000 lb. mammals are slated for the park. Another game park, the Willem Pretorius Game Sanctuary in the Orange Free State, will also receive four, and a similar number will later be sent to Rhodesia.

## For Piet's Sake!

IN THE WORLD'S FIRST mouth-to-beak resuscitation, a Pretoria traffic policeman saved his pet goose from drowning. "Pietie," one of six geese owned by Officer R. G. Diederichs, was the near-victim of a severe rainstorm.

When his owner went to check the pen, he found Pietie "limp and to all intents and purposes dead." Remembering his training in first-aid, Mr. Diederichs cleared the mud and water out of Pietie's nostrils, put his beak into his own mouth and started breathing into his lungs.

"In a couple of minutes he gave a big sigh and came alive. I was very surprised and immediately took him indoors and kept him warm in a box." At first the animal was a little weak, but he is getting along well now and Mr. Diederichs is quite sure he is going to be fine.

Nobody in Pretoria had ever heard of an animal being revived by artificial respiration before, especially a goose!



# Art Interest Mushrooms

A MAJOR—although relatively unpublicized—revolution has taken place in South Africa. As a small country spearheading a continent in which civilization is barely emerging, South Africa has become one of the most art-conscious and art-appreciating countries in the world.

Johannesburg alone is able to support, either professionally or semi-professionally, between 50 and 60 artists and sculptors, some of them of international standing. It is estimated that there are between 5,000 and 6,000 amateur painters in this city alone.

The city has six major private galleries where works of art are exhibited and sold. Each of these galleries usually stages an exhibition of paintings twice a month. This means 144 exhibitions a year and, taking the average number of paintings on each exhibition as 36, no fewer than 5,184 new works are seen by Johannesburg gallery-goers during the year.

## POST-WAR PROSPERITY

Although there are several reasons for Johannesburg's (and South Africa's) high interest in art, all stem from one fundamental cause, said Major Aubrey Fielding, a director of Johannesburg's largest gallery. The roots of South Africa's art boom lay in the post-war years, he said.

During the Second World War, South African soldiers were enabled to make what was virtually the Grand Tour of the European art capitals. They brought home with them a new appreciation of the place of art in the Western World.

This appreciation and the financial boom that followed the end of the war, which enabled new tastes to be indulged, were the beginnings of the creation of a favorable artistic climate.

More and more South Africans realized that not only were they able to portray their world in their own way, but also that their world was worth portraying. It was no longer vital for a painter to study overseas. The peculiar demands of South African color and landscape were best studied in South Africa itself.

A whole new crop of artists developed and have achieved recognition during the post-war years.

## GALLERIES FILLED

There also arose a new crop of galleries to cater for the new demand. Before the war a handful of small galleries eked out an existence selling imitations of overseas artists. Today all are heavily booked to meet the healthy upsurge of locally produced and locally appreciated art.

The new Adler Fielding Gallery in Johannesburg is symptomatic of this demand. Situated on the seventh floor of a new building, it has a roof garden, open-air stage, curved walls, specially designed lighting and covers 4,000 square feet in gallery space alone. These characteristics make it one of the most modern private galleries in the world.

The revolution in taste in South Africa is now an accomplished fact. With a body of educated appreciation to encourage them at home it is not surprising that South Africa artists have achieved success and popularity overseas.



*Mr. Frank A. Taylor (left) Director of the Museum of History and Technology, acted as host to South African Ambassador and Mrs. W. C. Naudé when they recently viewed the International Exhibition of Ceramic Art sponsored by the Kiln Club of Washington, D.C. The pieces in the foreground as well as the panel were some of the ceramics exhibited by four South African artists in the exhibit, which was held under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution.*

# Books and Magazines

SOUTH AFRICA provides a very large portion of the reading matter required by its population. Although many books and other publications are still imported, a surprising number of books, newspapers, magazines and journals are produced in the country, said a spokesman of the Department of Commerce and Industry recently.

There are approximately 40 book publishers, no less than 19 daily newspapers of which 15 are in English and 4 in Afrikaans, together with about 130 newspapers which are published weekly or two or three times a week. Total circulation of the English publications is about 2,000,000 and of the Afrikaans newspapers 1,500,000.

In addition there are 54 magazines, including not only those in both official languages but also several which service the Bantu population.

Numerous specialized publications cover almost every trade, profession and activity. About 50 agricultural journals exist, another 50 are on sports and hobbies, while nearly 400 publications are devoted to educational, legal, religious, medical, industrial and financial matters.





*Christmas holidays à la South Africa—no rush, no slush. The editors of South African Scope wish all our readers a Merry Christmas and a very Happy New Year.*

Merry

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